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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

4-20-1923

Justice (Vol. 5, Iss. 17)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
united! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. V, No. 17.

New York, Friday, April 20, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

International Labor Bank to Open in Near Future

**TO BE ORGANIZED ON COOPERATIVE BASIS—CAPITAL AND SUR-
AT \$250,000 EACH—OTHER BIG LABOR ORGANIZATIONS
PARTICIPATE—PRESIDENT SIGMAN APPOINTS PRO-
VISIONAL COMMITTEE TO ORGANIZE BANK**

The project for forming a cooperative labor bank, to be financed and controlled by our International Union, its joint boards and locals in New York City and several other labor organizations, is fast emerging from the sphere of planning into a reality.

The idea found great favor among the executive bodies of our New York locals which, one after the other voted, during the last two weeks, to take part in the undertaking and to invest in it substantial portions of their funds. On Thursday, April 12th, a special conference was held at the International Building, attended by representatives of all our organizations in New York City, and by Mr. Morris Hillquit, legal adviser of the International Union. President Sigman appointed a special committee at this conference to proceed at once with the work of organizing the bank. The committee consists of Vice-president Breslaw, Chairman; D. Schane, Manager of Local 1, Vice-president Heller; Vice-president Dubinsky and Isadore Schöenholz, Secretary of Local 2.

On Wednesday, April 18th, another

conference of representatives of our locals and joint boards was held at 3 West 16th Street, which was attended as well by delegates from the Inter-

national Furriers' Union, the Furriers' Goods Workers' Union, the United (Continued on Page 9)

Cleveland Cloakmakers Demand Raise in Wages

**PRESIDENT SIGMAN AND VICE-PRESIDENT PERLSTEIN WILL
LEAD THE FIGHT FOR THE WORKERS AT THE
HEARING BEFORE THE BOARD OF REFEREES**

The Cleveland cloak market, both the workers' camp and the employers', is agog with expectation. The wage hearing, which is to decide on the question of granting increases to the workers in the cloak shops, will finally take place on Saturday and Sunday, April 21 and 22, at the Hotel Statler.

The workers demand an increase, ranging from 15 to 25 per cent, and a still larger increase for some branches of the industry. At the opening of the hearing, Vice-presi-

dent Meyer Perlstein will present a brief stating the reason for this increase. He will dwell on the fact that the Cleveland cloakmakers have not benefited by the general wage increases granted during the war years to workers in other cities, because at that time the Cleveland workers were not organized, and every employer paid as much as he felt like paying. In 1918, definite wage scales were established for the first time in the history of Cleveland, and since then (Continued on page 3)

SECRETARY BAROFF SENDS MESSAGE FROM 'FRISCO

CLOAK STRIKE STILL ON

A message addressed to President Sigman, was received this week from Secretary Baroff now at San Francisco, in which the details of the protracted cloak strike now going on in that city are set forth.

Secretary Baroff had made an attempt to bring both sides to a conference in the hope of settling the strike by direct negotiation. It appears, however, that his efforts have been a failure thus far. "The principal obstacle," he writes, "is the interference of the reactionary San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, which stands behind the cloak manufacturers and incites them to fight the union."

Secretary Baroff states that the morale of the strikers is excellent; there are no strike-breakers to be had and the strikers have every reason to believe that, with endurance and courage, they will win the fight. The International will of course help the strikers financially, and there is no doubt that the cloakmakers' organizations all over the land will not wait until the hands of their San Francisco brothers stretch out to them, but will send help to San Francisco long before that time.

From San Francisco Secretary Baroff will soon leave for Los Angeles, where he will address the cloakmakers and the waist and dressmakers of that city.

DRESS JOINT BOARD WILL OPEN EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

IMPORTANT SHOP-CHAIRMEN MEETING NEXT THURSDAY

On the order of the day of the Dress and Waist Joint Board the question of a labor bureau is today looming amongst the most important. The formation of such a bureau became very urgent, after the settlement of the last strike, upon the introduction of the 40-hour week. In most of the shops they began to increase the number of workers, and it became imperative that the union take a hand in controlling this supply of labor so that proper and strict union conditions of employment might prevail.

On Thursday next, April 20th, an important shop-chairmen meeting of all the shops in New York City will be held for the purpose of definitely deciding upon the establishment of such an employment bureau to control the flow of labor in the industry. It will be held in the Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

After this matter will have been decided by the chairmen's meeting, the question will be referred to the members of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board at their respective local and branch meetings.

LOCAL 23 BIDS FAREWELL TO WANDER AT BANQUET

MEYER LIND WELCOMED AS NEW MANAGER

The Skirt and Dressmakers' Union, Local 23, now has a new manager. As reported in these columns, Vice-president Harry Wander, who for many years has been secretary and manager of this local, recently became the manager of the Jobbing Department of the Cloak Joint Board. In his place the local has now elected Brother Meyer Lind, formerly a business agent of the union.

The executive board of Local 23, on Saturday, April 14th, gave a banquet to the departing manager, Brother Wander, and his successor.

A temporary injunction will be held at which the union, through its counsel, Morris Hillquit, will demand that it be dismissed. The employer will of course demand that it be made permanent. At any rate it is obvious to the firm by this time that, injunction or no injunction, they cannot make undergarments without their workers.

Local 62 is in better shape today than ever before in its history. Manager Snyder informs us that the membership of the local has practically doubled in the last few weeks.

banquet was attended by invited guests from the International office and from the various locals in New York. The toastmaster of the evening was Brother Jacob Greenberg, the chairman of the executive board of Local No. 23. Talks were given by President Sigman, Editor Yanofsky, Louis Langer, and L. Pinkovsky, chairman of the Cloak Joint Board. Brother Wander replied to the toasts with a warm speech, thanking the Local for the friendship displayed towards him and for their confidence and cooperation during all the years he was with them.

Brother Lind also spoke and assured all those present that he would endeavor to follow in the footsteps of Brother Wander and to serve the Local as faithfully and as efficiently.

GIOVANNITTI IN CANADA

Arturo Giovannitti, general organizer for the International, is spending this week in Montreal and Toronto, addressing meetings of Italian workers.

While in Montreal Giovannitti will also address a meeting of French-speaking ladies' garment workers.

Injunction Issued Against Local 62

MORRIS HILLQUIT APPEARS FOR UNION

The Taylor Silk Undergarment Company of 15 East 22nd Street, is still on strike. The workers left the shop several weeks ago during the general strike and have not yet returned to work. This is an "independent" firm and they would not

settle with the union. The strike, however, seems to have annoyed them somewhat, so they have now resorted to the courts, and Justice Newburger has granted the firm a temporary injunction.

Next week the hearing on this tem-

Next week's issue will be a special May Day number. Locals desiring to insert greetings in that number are requested to forward copy not later than Tuesday morning, April 24th.

Topics of the Week

By N. S.

STEEL TRUST RAISES WAGES

JUDGE GARY did not wait for his steamer to dock. He was still on the high seas, returning from a trip abroad, when he wirelessly a wage increase to the workers employed by the United States Steel Corporation.

The wage increase, amounting to 11 per cent, affects only about 150,000 workers in the manufacturing plants out of a total of 215,000. The Steel Trust has been paying unskilled labor 36 cents an hour, or \$4.36 for a ten-hour day. The 11 per cent increase which became effective last Monday, brought the rate up to 40 cents an hour, or \$4.00 a day. This is the second increase granted by Judge Gary within a single year. For last September an increase of 20 per cent was put into effect. Despite these increases however, the present wage rates are considerably below those of February, 1920, when the steel workers received \$5.06 for a ten-hour day. In the so-called period of deflation which started in the autumn of 1920, three wage reductions brought the scale down from \$5.06 a day to \$3.00 a day. The workers are still \$1.06 shy.

The independent steel mills followed close upon the heels of the Gary Trust. The Republic Iron and Steel Company, employing about 30,000 workers, and the Jones & Laughlin Corporation, employing 20,000 workers, promptly announced similar advances. Other steel mills are rapidly falling in line.

The steel magnates are now reaping huge profits. Steel prices have been going up steadily for the last nine months. Unfilled orders are high. Despite the installation of labor-saving machinery there is said to be a marked labor shortage. What is more, the steel kings fear an exodus of workers from the mills to more favorable employment.

But this upward swing of wages does not necessarily mean that the workers are now enjoying prosperity. The cost of living must be taken into consideration. If the earnings are compared with living costs it is seen that the latter had been rising more rapidly than the former, that is, that the purchasing power of wages has dropped slightly during the past few months.

THE AMALGAMATED BANK

A LITTLE over two years ago, organized labor in this country began to realize that banking is the source of enormous power. And the Amalgamated Banking Workers, combining a vivid imagination with a knack for realizing their dreams, have gone into banking. On July 1, 1922, they established their first bank in Chicago. During the nine months of its existence the deposits mounted from about a quarter of a million dollars to a million and a half, a gain of 500 per cent. Last Saturday, April 14, the Amalgamated opened its second bank in the financial stronghold not only of America, but of the world. It is the first labor bank in New York.

The Amalgamated banks, like the dozen other labor banks—notably those of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—are based on cooperative principles. "Except for a small amount of the stock, which will be held by the Union itself," the Amalgamated circular reads, "the ownership will be vested in the individual members. No worker can hold more than three shares, thus insuring the widest distribution of the stock." Dividends will be limited to 10 per cent, and profits shared with depositors.

The brief history of labor banks has definitely disposed of the dark prophecies made by so-called financial experts who warned labor unions not to venture into the sacred mysteries of banking. Labor has learned that banking "is safer than running a grocery store or a peanut stand," as A. F. Coyle of the All-American Cooperative put it. The question of safety and security is not worrying labor bankers in the least.

But the fact that labor banks are organized on the basis of service rather than profit will inevitably lead to a group of irritating problems. Having only a limited field for the financing of workers' enterprises, the labor banks will be forced to share with the private banks in the business of investments and loans. But while the private banker is free to follow his business sense, the labor banker will often be hindered and checked by the idea of service and cooperation. The labor banker therefore will have to overcome the apparent dualism between the cooperative and business ideas.

In the industrial field the class struggle continues unabated. No harmony between employers and workers is as yet in sight. But in the field of banking a tendency toward "friendliness" between labor and private banks is clearly perceptible. It is too early to gauge the effects of the union thrift campaigns on the earnings and standards of living of the workers. Whether the industrial class struggle will penetrate into the banks, or the banks will trim the sails of the class struggle is as yet not certain. It is likely that the workers will devise a new method for effectively merging the double personality or the divided soul of their banks.

POLICE BOOTLEGGING

ACCORDING to Assemblyman Cuvillier, New York has the distinction of having for its Police Commissioner "the biggest bootlegger in the United States."

This interesting revelation was made a week ago on the floor of the Albany Legislature. Mr. Cuvillier said that "there are scores of reputable citizens in New York who can testify that bootlegging is being carried on by the police. They can tell of the theft of good liquor illegally seized by the police and of subsequent substitution of soda water for liquor when it was returned. The police are peddling liquor to the gin mills and they are doing it under a highly protected system."

Police Commissioner Enright replied by calling the Albany legislator an "unmitigated liar." What is more, he demanded an investigation. And Mayor Hylan promptly appointed his Commissioner of Accounts Hirschfeld to look into the matter. The hearings are marked by exposures, charges and counter-charges, threats and counter-threats. It is doubtful whether this "investigation" will lead anywhere; meanwhile it supplies the newspapers with spicy copy.

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The Union Health Center Celebrates

On Saturday evening, April 28th, the Union Health Center of the I. L. G. W. U., will celebrate the third year of its health activities, in the auditorium of the International Building, 3 West 16th Street, at 8 p. m. This will be an evening of great fun and justification. Several prominent physicians will address the members and friends of the Union Health School on the plans for next year.

There will be dancing, special entertainment, music and refreshments. The event will mark the end of an extremely successful year of health lectures and health classes at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, and will also mark the beginning of a new year, with new plans for a larger and more developed health program.

Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, and Mr. Harry Wander, chairman of the Union Health Center Executive Board will be present, as well as individual physicians and lecturers who have made this year a great success.

All the members and friends of the

Union Health Center are cordially invited to help us celebrate this happy occasion.

SHOP-CHAIRMEN MEETING CALLED BY DRESS JOINT BOARD

A number of important plans are to be considered at a shop-chairmen meeting of the Joint Board Dress and Waistmakers' Union called by Secretary Mackoff for Thursday, April 26, 1923, at 7 East 15th Street. All shop chairmen are requested to report right after work.



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AMERICAN INTERESTS ABROAD

POLITICAL and diplomatic devices to coax the United States into world affairs have proved notoriously futile. This was not due to the conservatism, aloofness and frigid indifference of our government. It was rather due to the obsolete symbolism which the European diplomats employed. If, instead of the League of Nations, they would have talked about concrete and vital things such as coal, iron, manufacture, and particularly oil, the story would have been different.

While America is only unofficially and informally represented at the diplomatic conferences in Europe, American business men are in hot pursuit of profitable concessions where they can sink their money and plant the American flag as their guide and protector. A week ago Admiral Chester, who heads a group of American financiers, secured a vitally important concession from the Angora Government. It is for the construction in Anatolia of more than 2,000 miles of new railways, the building of ports and quays and the exploitation of mineral rights throughout those portions of Asia Minor which are still undeveloped. Payment for this extensive development and rebuilding is to be given by the Turks in the form of mineral, oil and other concessions.

The fact that the United States is carrying off whatever economic spoils Turkey has to offer has given the British and French interests much worry. The French government has already sent a vehement protest to the Turkish government against granting to the American interests concessions for which France herself is yearning. Great Britain has also expressed deep dissatisfaction. These governments which have been clamoring for American participation in European affairs are now alarmed at the prospect of America finally entering world affairs.

Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

GENERAL

The first meeting of the Boston District Council, which was organized through the efforts of Brothers Sigman and Perlestein, was held on Wednesday evening, April 4, at the office of the Joint Board of Cloakmakers. The Boston locals as well as the branches within the different locals were all represented by three active Executive Board members. After a lengthy discussion on the aims and objects of the District Council and after mapping out the work before it, election of officers for the first term took place.

Brother Hyman Weiner, an old time member of the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local No. 7, and one who has had a great deal of experience in union matters, was elected president. Brother A. Baker of the Executive Board of the Cutters' Branch of Local No. 49 was elected vice-president. As secretary to the Council, Brother Joseph Morabita, a prominent Italian member of the Joint Board, was chosen. And last but not least, Brother I. Forman of the Freeman's Local No. 12, was chosen as sergeant-at-arms. With a set of officers so well selected, we are certain that success cannot fail to follow.

CLOAKS AND SUITS

It is not as busy in the Cloak and Suit Trade as we expected it to be at this time of the year, still there are quite some work and almost all our members are working. Shop meetings are held daily at the office of the Union, where the members are attended to by Brothers Taudier and Frank, manager and business agent of the Joint Board respectively. Business agent Frank is very successful in controlling the contractors, who, as is well known, are very reluctant to live up to the agreement entered into with them by the Union. Especially is this true when it comes to the payment of the union scale of wages and double pay for overtime. A few of these contractors were recently "caught with the goods." They were made to pay back the difference and the union will see to it that these contractors be fined in addition by the Contractors' Association, of which they are members. They will have to learn, once and for all, that an agreement not to work a day of paper, must be lived up to. Incentives are being brought in some of the other contracting shops, and our members will be informed of the results of the investigations through the columns of JUSTICE. As far as the legitimate manufacturers are concerned, Manager Taudier of the Joint Board reports that he has hardly had any trouble whatsoever.

To celebrate the victory achieved by the cloakmakers in the last general strike, the Skirt Makers, Local No. 24, and the Cloakmakers, Local No. 56, are arranging a ball and banquet for the entire membership on April 15, 1923, at the Bemic Auditorium, 12 Berkeley Street. Invitations were sent to all the locals, who are sure to be represented there in great numbers.

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS

The Waist, Dress and Petticoat Workers' Union, Local No. 49, is now one of the best organized unions in the needle industry. Almost all of the Boston dress manufacturers have signed agreements with us. The contractors, over thirty in number, have organized an association and entered into a collective agreement.

Both the individual agreements and the one with the Contractor's Association contain a clause calling for the arbitration of all disputes, where the union and the manufacturers cannot reach an understanding. The relations between Local No. 49 and the

employers are the very best and we hope that this condition will last for a long time. So far, we have only had one arbitration case with the Contractors' Association. The case involved a number of cutters who were idle at the time of the signing of the agreement. These cutters were supposed to have been employed by the members of the association, but the contractors failed to carry out this provision. Both sides agreed on the choice of Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School as the arbitrator. The decision was in favor of the Union. Some of the idle cutters have since been employed by members of the association.

WATERPROOF GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 7

The Raincoat Makers' Local for the last two months has been very active in general organization work. During the general strike of the dressmakers and cloakmakers, the raincoat makers took advantage of the situation. Although our agreement with the manufacturers does not expire until August 15, 1923, we have received an increase in wages with back pay retroactive to March 5th. All shops settled without any trouble with the exception of one shop, namely the Trimont Coat Company where we have about twenty members; over two hundred working there are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. When the firm refused to grant the increase, our members stopped work and it was a pleasure to see the entire shop, including all the workers of the Amalgamated, stop at the same time in sympathy with them. After one day's strike, the firm called for a conference and Brother Monosson, Vice-president of the International and manager of the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, succeeded in getting a substantial increase with back pay retroactive to March 5th.

During the last few weeks we have also succeeded in signing an agreement with the well-known firm, the Weatherproof Clothing Company of Malden, which shop the Union has tried to organize for the last three years. This firm, the readers of the JUSTICE will remember, had eight of our officers arrested and the trial lasted two weeks; of course the Union won the case. This shop is now a one hundred per cent union shop.

The union is in good standing as we are one hundred per cent organized. For the last nine months, the raincoat makers and the dressmakers were in one office and under one management; since the strike of the dressmakers was a great success and their membership greatly enlarged, we found that our present quarters

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CLEVELAND WAGE HEARING

(Continued from page 1)

the local workers have received only two increases. Then came the slump. And instead of increases, the workers in the Cleveland cloak shops were given a cut in wages. As a result, the prosperous period of the war years practically did not affect the Cleveland workers at all.

Now that the Cleveland cloak industry is going through another prosperous period, the workers feel that they are entitled to a share of the larger returns. All these considerations will be outlined in Vice-president Perlestein's brief, in which he will emphasize the point that not only has the cost of living been mounting again, in recent months, but that the workers in general are entitled to a better living, to more than bread and butter.

After Vice-president Perlestein's argument, Mr. Bernheim of the Labor Bureau, Inc., of New York, which had been engaged by the union to gather data on the cost of living, increases granted to workers in other industries, and on many other facts connected with the issues before the Board of Referees, will present the figure.

The union is informed that the Cleveland manufacturers are preparing to oppose stubbornly the demand of the union. Their chief argument will be that the wages and earnings of the workers in Cleveland are the highest ever seen locally in this trade. Secondly, they will maintain that, if wages are increased and the cost of products raised thereby, there will be another "buyers strike" which will affect adversely the local cloak business.

President Morris Sigman will also be present at this hearing and is expected to have something to say with regard to the existing wages in the cloak industry throughout the country in comparison with wages in the Cleveland market.

For Friday evening, April 20th, we have arranged a general mass meeting, at the Auditorium of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the place where the last convention was held, at which meeting President Sigman and Vice-president Perlestein will address the workers.

This was a busy week in local organization affairs. A number of meetings have been held with the executive board of the locals and the Joint Board, at which the question of reorganizing the office was discussed. This reorganization became necessary as a result of Vice-presi-

dent Perlestein's becoming the manager of the western department of the International which compelled him to relinquish his office as the manager of the Cleveland Joint Board. These meetings decided to enlarge the office staff, and arrangements were also made that the office staff attend to all routine business. Only complicated questions that may arise from time to time will be referred to Brother Perlestein.

The meetings also took up the question of putting the Cleveland organization on a better financial basis. It was pointed out that the union should be able to meet its financial expense and should adequately provide for emergencies. The Joint Board and the local executives decided that the dues be increased from 45 cents to 55 cents a week for men and from 35 cents to 45 cents a week for women. Besides that, it was clearly understood that in the beginning of the season, that is about July 1st, an assessment be levied to raise a fund for the meeting of any emergencies or unexpected situations the organized cloakmakers of Cleveland might be compelled to face at any time. The emergency fund of the union at present amounts only to about \$15,000 and the workers realize that, in order to be able to calmly meet the employers in December when the present agreement expires, this fund must be substantially enlarged.

The action of the Joint Board and of the local executives' boards was approved by a majority of the locals already. And the spirit of the members who were called to special meetings to decide on this question was a surprise and a revelation to everybody. Local 29, the organization of the girls, adopted this increase in dues enthusiastically. Local 26, the operators, and Local 44, the Italian workers, also approved it unanimously after intensive discussions. This action puts the organization in Cleveland on a solid financial basis.

At the next meeting of the Joint Board, a so-called International organization committee will be elected. Such a committee will be formed in every city under the jurisdiction of the Western Department. The duty of these committees will be to organize the unorganized workers and it will always work in close contact with the local managers and the general manager.

Right after the wage hearing is completed, President Sigman and Vice-president Perlestein will proceed to Chicago to organize and install the office of the Western Department.

We also wish to congratulate the Waist and Dressmakers' Union on the occasion of their splendid victory and we can assure them that in the future, as well as in the past, our aid will be given to them.

Our local is meeting the 1st and 3rd Wednesday of each month and we are having good attendance. Our local is preparing for an intense educational campaign among our members and with that in view, a committee under the chairmanship of our manager, Brother Monosson, was elected.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Office, 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President. S. KANOFFSKY, Editor. A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer. ABRAHAM TUVIM, Business Manager

MAX D. DANIEL, Managing Editor

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The New European Tragedy

By LEON CHIASANOWITCH

2. The Reparation Problem and the Sins of the German Bourgeoisie

The sympathies of the democracies everywhere in the world are today on the side of the German people in their immensely difficult defensive fight against the attacks of French imperialism. Germany is receiving today, from many lands tokens of compassion alike from labor organizations and from employers' organizations and even churches. The strongest impression in this respect was created by the criticism leveled at France by the English Government and by the English Parliament. This was the first moral victory obtained by Germany since the outbreak of the war in 1914. France, which since last year's conference at Washington on the limitation of armament had lost considerably in the eyes of the world, is today morally quite isolated. The danger to international peace which lurks in French imperialism is daily becoming clearer.

In this sympathy movement for Germany, sight must not be lost of the fact that Germany is not one undivisible unit and that this sympathy has not been earned by all classes alike—just as the people of France as a whole cannot be charged with the sins of the French bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of Germany cannot sympathize for any share with the sympathy because it has had its share of guilt for the present German national misfortunes. It has helped by its activities to strengthen the position of the French imperialists and to bring the great and cultured German nation to the condition in which it finds itself today. We have to do in this case with the bourgeoisies of these two countries which are fighting out their battles at the expense of the German people.

It is an old truth, yet it always stands in need of repetition, that every national calamity and emergency is invariably being exploited and used by the bourgeois class for its personal unconscionable enrichment. War has always been the best lever for turning the most adroit machinations by the capitalists and financiers. Germany has passed through, since 1914, three critical periods: war, revolution and reparation fights. Germany has also had to contend against three types of profiteers: the war profiteer, the profiteer from the revolution, and finally the reparation profiteer.

The German bourgeoisie has made a conspiracy not to pay taxes. This systematic robbing of the state treasury they have cloaked in a shroud of patriotism. It would be boon rather than a detriment to the country, they said, for would not the money go to France anyway? So the German people are confronted with the spectacle that, while the owning classes of the victor countries,—England, France and Belgium—*are* paying heavy taxes, the same classes in Germany are "getting away" with comparative trifles. In a preceding article I have told how this is being manipulated. They are paying heavy taxes in Germany, too, but this is done by workers, clerks and officials; these are obliged to part weekly or monthly with about 10 per cent of their earnings, a form of taxation unknown anywhere in the world except Germany. The oppressive indirect taxes, particularly those on imported articles and raw materials, are a similar burden upon the shoulders of the masses. But the most refined method applied by the bourgeoisie for the dodging of tax paying is the constant devaluation of the German currency. Not only have the owning classes in Germany the undisputed right to declare the in-

come without outside control or interference, but they also pay these taxes months and years after they have been declared. For this money they buy foreign currency or commodities which rise a hundredfold in price, and when they finally pay their obligations it amounts to some ridiculously small sum. In brief, it is organized robbery—with the connivance of the Government.

The following figures speak unmistakably for themselves: In 1920 the wage taxes—the taxes deducted from the wages of all workers, salaried persons and officials—amounted to 20 per cent of the entire income of the state. In 1921 this part of the state tax income rose to 33.1-3 per cent of the whole tax income and in January 1923 it amounted to no less than 48 per cent of it. From year to year and from month to month the bourgeoisie is more and more casting off the burden of the state and imposing it upon the shoulders of the working class. Such a tax scandal has not been heard in any country in the world. But this is not all. The bourgeoisie also has direct benefits from the Fatherland's plight. It was recently made public that the Government had consented to defer the payment of taxes by the coal barons for a full year, a sum amounting to a billion marks. Coal taxes, like all taxes on necessities, are paid for by the consumers. The coal barons have therefore already received this tax from the public; but they keep it without a penny interest and operate with it, enriching themselves and paying it back later to the Government in greatly depreciated currency. The landholder, who before the war had their property heavily mortgaged, are now rid of debt; they are paying back their obligations with a few bushels of potatoes, for the depreciation of money goes hand in hand with a staggering increase in the cost of living and the rise in prices of all agricultural and industrial products. The profits are not kept by these profiteers in markets either—the mark has become in present-day Germany sort of proletarian money. They keep them in commodities, in stocks, in foreign currency and in foreign banks.

The German bourgeoisie is in great measure accountable for the actual depreciation of the German mark. Of course this fall of the currency in Germany has, as in all other countries, its objective and general causes. The expenses of the state exceed its income; the German commercial balance is passive; i.e., it imports more goods than it exports; the deficiency in the state income is largely made up by the unlimited issue of paper money which swamps the market and which is also used by Germany in meeting payment for imports, thus playing havoc with the worth of the mark abroad. Nevertheless, these general causes would not have been sufficient, in the opinion of experts, to create that abnormal fall of the mark—from 300 to the dollar at the time of Rathenau's assassination to almost 30,000 at the time of this writing. Such a devaluation which puts the German mark almost on a par with the Polish mark is totally unjustifiable, as German economic strength is incomparably greater, and the German national budget far stronger than those of Poland.

We are dealing here with a premeditated policy of powerful industrial and financial circles to ruin the German mark, as it gives them the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the German masses, which they hope will simultaneously make it impossible for the French to

While I scorn the chivalry that kisses the hand of woman, and then denies that hand the reins with which she might guide the rolling world along; while I would not bow to her as being more than man, yet I would give her every right I claim for myself. Still, I cannot think of her without a feeling of reverence that amounts to worship, and that which I worship in her I would also worship in man if he had not banished it from his life.

Great is the hand of man. He smiles the mountain ranges, and they smooth out into plains; he strokes the ocean, and it carries his craft in safety; he shakes his fist at the night, and creatures of steel come forth to do his bidding. But if the hand of man is stronger still, because it is softened and skilled to comfort and heal. If the hand of man is magical with accomplishment, the small white hand of woman has even greater magic, in that it is more human ever. With the touch of her fingers she changes the hard sick bed into down and dreams. With the stroke of her palm she banishes the terrors of childhood and gives smiles for sobs.

If man, the titan, makes the world big, woman, the enchantress, makes it beautiful. If man finds the food, it is woman that brings the babe through pain she sets with roses; and it is she who makes shining and sweet the gateway when the soul fares forth to the unknown land.

Man may make the nation, but woman does more—she makes the home.

When I think of what the world would be without the inspiring influence of woman, I am ashamed of what the world has done with her. She has done everything for the world, and man has done everything evil to her. He has filled her delicate hands with weights she could not bear, and laid upon her shoulders burdens that crushed her to the earth; and though she stumbled on uncom-

tain anything worthwhile in reparations. These same iterers have always fought every attempt to stabilize the mark, to fix a permanent currency value, and have endeavored to annul through their secret pools and manipulations every effort of the Social Democrats in that direction.

This financial policy of the wealthy classes of Germany, which from the point of view of the German national economy is primarily systematic robbery, is viewed by the French as systematic sabotage of Germany's reparation payments. By its attitude the German bourgeoisie had strengthened immensely the extreme right wing of the ruling classes in France and was indirectly responsible for the French invasion of the Ruhr.

The secret and open activities of the reactionary chauvinists in Germany have had a similar influence. The secret monarchist and terrorist groups, under a multitude of names, closely united and striving all together to destroy the German Republic and to implant the spirit of revenge in the hearts of the German population against the victors in the last

plainly, kissing the hand that smote her, he has taunted her as an inferior and ruled her as if she were a slave.

It is the woman guardian of the sacred fire. Should she fail, earth would return to the stone age, and man become again a naked barbarian. It was woman who invented all the arts, from agriculture to weaving, from architecture to music.

It is woman's voice that bears the soul in prayer and hymn toward higher things.

In a world that God made beautiful, there is nothing so beautiful as woman, and without her divine ministrations, all things would speedily lose their charm. It is woman that bears the future in her body, and on her sweet and sacred bosom nurses life into higher forms and nobler ways. There is nothing so wonderful as motherhood charged with the future destiny of the race, which means the well of all that breathe.

No true man can think of his mother other than as perfect. No husband who is still a lover—as every husband ought to be—can believe that his wife is less beautiful or feel that she is less dear than when in the bloom of beauty she first won his heart.

I have a vision of woman that is loftier, nobler and diviner than the mothers and wives, the sisters and daughters, have been in the dark days of the past and are still in the dawning days of the present. In the fuller days of the world to come woman shall be free. In that hour woman shall have opportunity; and because her day has come at last, everything that lives shall rise and unfold and share in the common blessings that shall come to the race. Love shall rise instead of hate, beauty shall take the place of deformity, peace of war, plenty of poverty; and all the world, under her unfettered ministry, shall be a home, safe and saintly, sweet and satisfying.

war,—these chauvinistic and anti-semitic movements, centered in Bavaria, were grist to the mills of French imperialism. They had won the seeds of fear of a future German revanche in the hearts of millions of Frenchmen who otherwise would be peacefully inclined toward the German people.

By this I do not wish to imply for a minute that the French bourgeoisie is a whit better than its German counterpart. I only desired to make clear the point that the impression created everywhere that, after the French occupied the Ruhr, all class lines disappeared in Germany and that all classes in the Fatherland without exception are equally deserving of the world's sympathy, is entirely erroneous. The sympathy of the international democracy belongs only to the toiling masses of Germany who have borne and still bear upon their shoulders the double burden of national exploitation and of the systematic policy of the German bourgeoisie to convert German international woes into a source of self-aggrandizement and enrichment.

Saturday, April 21, 8:15 P. M. . . . HARRY DANA
"The Adding Machine"

Fri., Apr. 27, 8:15 P. M., MARION C. WENTWORTH
"The Sunken Bell"

Saturday, April 28, 1:30 P. M. . . . SCOTT NEARING
"The Science of Happiness"

Saturday, April 28, 3:15 P. M. . . . MRS. H. S. SKEFFINGTON
"The Irish Free State vs. Irish Republic"

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The I. L. G. W. U. Visit the Stock Exchange

By SYLVIA KOPALA

A Bull! by the Bears! The market is Bullish! The Lambs have been born again!

And where, pray, does this lingo come from? Ringling Brothers' Circus? Armour & Co.? No, indeed. These are descriptions of the changing and varied activities of the pulse of industrial-financial America, the Wall Street Stock Exchange.

Surely, this must be a strange and interesting place. What do they do here? What is the secret of its strategic importance in our present scheme of things? How are fortunes made and broken here? Is there any secret whatever in this seeming hocus-pocus?

A group of members of the I. L. G. W. U., studying economics at the Brownville Unity Center—P. S. 84, began to ask these questions in the middle of their discussion on banking and finance. We soon decided that the best way to understand fully the meaning behind all this business was to go down to the exchange and search it out.

No sooner said than done. We called on the Stock Exchange library, made arrangements, were promised a "guide" and an "interpreter," and bright and early Monday morning, April 2, were on our way.

In the meantime the news of our going had been noised abroad in the halls and byways of union headquarters. Much excitement sounded through those corridors. Here was the chance of a lifetime. Miss Cohn, our educational secretary, gave us a solemn injunction. We were not to come back until we had made at least seven million five hundred and one thousand, three hundred and fifty-seven dollars and ninety-nine cents.

This was a big job indeed. There were about twenty of us on the subway and we took toll of the (collective) amount of money we had for investment. One sister had \$3.00 and was game to contribute it all. The others ranged from 22 cents to 50 cents. I had \$1.93, but I needed the exchange, and consequently could contribute only the three cents. On the whole we had together some \$13.03. Now to increase that to \$1,071,257.99 and give the educational department next year the biggest and best program in its history. (Money does help a lot, you know.)

Wall Street! Out we filed into the high, imposing narrowness of New York's Hofstrasse. Budding financiers and eager inquirers, we hastened to 18 Broad Street and entered the exchange, anxious to arrive upon the scene before the opening. Mr. Mulligan, assistant in the library, met us and took us up the lifts to the visitors' balcony. The huge clock opposite us registered 9:55. Five minutes before the 10 o'clock opening! Let us look around and see what we can see, before the fun begins.

A huge floor—the floor of exchange. On it four rows of posts, each shaped like a wooden light-house on a board base. These are the trading posts—sixteen in all. On each post are listed from twenty to forty companies. On Post 2 is listed United States Steel, probably the most important of all. Four telegraphers seated on high stools before desks within brass railings are placed at regular intervals about the room. Under the visitors' balconies are rows of booths containing the private-line telephones to the offices of Stock Exchange members. A telephone clerk is within each booth. Along the walls beside the doors stand several tickers. On the walls over them are the two large indicator boards (one on each side of the room) on which the numbers of the various brokers appear from time to time with sharp little clicks. The president's rostrum stands back from the wall over the room. In the far corner of the room is the "money desk."

On the floor is a large crowd of men—the brokers. Young boys in uniform move among them, while here and there stand men in caps like those conductors wear. These are the pages and the reporters. A page comes in with a bouquet of pink and white carnations. He distributes these to certain of the brokers who place them in the lapel buttonholes! A hum of voices stirs through the large room.

Ten o'clock! A loud gong! Immediate bedlam! Voices rise in loud insistence. Order books appear from vest pockets. Substantial brokers clutch back from the wall, pushing their way through gesticulating, excited groups. Pages hurry from brokers to telephone booths with slips of papers. On the indicator boards numbers appear and disappear. We note that the brokers keep an eye on the indicator boards watching for the numbers that will send them over to the telephone booths. The reporters move from the posts to the telegraphers. Suddenly a loud and sharp "Take it!" emerges from the general clamor.

Now one post is the scene of much excitement. Brokers gather about it in greater and greater number. One man is the center of the group. He snaps out certain statements; others snap back answers. Back and forth, back and forth! Then—"Take it!" A reporter moves toward the nearest telegrapher.

Now what does it all mean? Is there any sense in this seeming nonsense? What are these staid brokers getting excited about?

The story of the Stock Exchange begins in the nature of modern business. Industry functions today on a large scale through corporate organizations for private profit. Corporate organization is based upon the share of stock which represents part ownership in the business in question. These stocks can be bought and sold, transferred from one hand to another, used as security and handled generally like any other tangible, movable asset.

The corporation has played a large part in facilitating the development of large-scale industry. You can see how the invention of ever bigger, more improved and more intricate machinery required larger and larger accumulations of capital for making, housing and maintaining the new machines. Moreover, one did not realize on these outlays immediately, but had to put forward enormous outlays which would yield returns only over a long period of time. No one man could supply all the money required for these large-scale businesses.

And here is where the corporation came in. By representing the assets and earning capacity of the new business by shares of stock, each of which represented a part ownership in the business, and by offering these stocks for general sale, it was possible to draw in money from all parts of the country, from investors some of whom would never see or know anything about the actual operation of the business in which they had placed their money.

And here is where the Stock Exchange came in. Basically the exchange is nothing more than a great central market for the purchase and sale of stocks and bonds. You have seen fish markets, meat markets, fruit and vegetable markets, and others of the sort. Well, the Stock Exchange is merely a larger instance of the same sort of thing, doing for corporate stocks what these others do for produce. Its brokers are middlemen, linking buyer and seller. Its activity is straight market activity.

Of course, this states the problem in its simplest terms. There are complicating factors, superstructures, more intricate phases, each of which is of great importance in the present scheme of things. But we must understand the fundamentals before we can consider the detailed complications.

The apparently helter-skelter, hectic activity on the floor of the exchange fits in with the fundamentals. Every man on the floor, save only the pages and reporters, must be a member of the exchange organization. And it is no simple matter to have a seat in the exchange. Seats are sold at market prices to applicants who have been sponsored by members and have passed "the character test." Prices for seats have gone as high as \$97,000. So, as Mr. Mulligan told us, practically every man on the floor is a millionaire. Membership is limited to 1,100 and members keep their seats for life, provided they never transgress the stringent rules of the exchange. At a usual thing, floor members are partners or associates in a brokerage house which maintains central offices in New York and branches throughout the country and in Europe.

Let us say some man in San Francisco wishes to purchase stocks in U. S. Steel. He goes to the office of a broker who advertises his membership in the N. Y. Stock Exchange—

if he goes to a smaller house it probably will be dealing with a larger Stock Exchange house. He gives his order and states after consultation how much he is willing to pay. One thousand shares at \$7 1/4. (Each share has a par value of \$100.00.) Another man, in Chicago, wishes to sell his Steel stocks. He goes through a similar negotiation with a Chicago broker's office. Immediately the two deals are sent through the telegraph wires. They reach the New York offices of the brokers concerned. Each office gets its private telephone clerk in the exchange on the wire. The broker's number is shown on the indicator board. The broker gets the order, goes to the Steel trading desk and calls out something like "One thousand Steel to sell. What price am I bid?" The broker seeking to buy calls out "Ninety-six." Another offers, "Ninety-seven." The third cries "Ninety-seven and a half." "Take it!" The sale is made. The reporter repeats "97 1/4." "97 1/4" confirms the buyer. The reporter takes the news to the telegrapher who sends it to the central cable office of the exchange. And within a few minutes the last quoted market price of Steel on the New York and on its way to the European markets.

After we had watched these scenes on the floor for some time we were taken to the "court room," where the Board of Governors tries those who have broken the rules of the exchange. Mr. Jason Westerfield, secretary to the library, then gave our members a long talk explaining how the Stock Exchange works. Our members asked many questions before they left. It was extremely interesting.

The morning of our visit saw a raid by the Bears. You wonder what that means? Well, that's one of the complications. What are Bulls and Bears, bucket shops, the curb, arbitrage, margins, speculation, short-selling, corners? How are quotations made? What are the relations of the exchange with the banks, etc., etc.? More complications. All these things make a long and fascinating story. One spent three weeks over them and then felt they could spend many more. But the fundamentals stood forth clearly and after our visit we had got the "feel" of the thing.

Oh, yes, the I. L. G. W. U. has not made those millions yet. On the basis of Mr. Westerfield's talk we decided that it might be wise to look about carefully for a broker. You can't entrust \$13.03 to anyone.

Women of All Parties Combine

Political dissension among East Side women is being forgotten in the cooperation for the success of the East Side campaign for membership in the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies which started last Sunday under the leadership of Judge Otto A. Rosakky.

Mrs. Samuel Koenig, Republican District leader, is chairman of the women's auxiliary which also includes Mrs. Benjamin Hoffman, Democratic District leader and Mrs. Jacob Panken, wife of the Socialist Judge of the Second District Court. The auxiliary includes as well Sophie Irene Loeb, Mrs. H. B. Goldstein, Mrs. Lester Lamm, Mrs. Morris Eder.

Each of these women has formed a committee of her own which is canvassing households of her neighborhood in order to gain enough members to raise the half-million dollar deficit in Federation's 1923 budget.

"When charity is involved," said Mrs. Koenig, "we women remember that we are helpers of the poor rather than political antagonists. A cam-

paign for Federation's charities is as important as any political campaign." Headquarters of the East Side campaign are in the Bowery Bank Building, 230 Grand Street.

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WENTWORTH

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SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 3:15 P. M.

Mrs. HANNAH

SKIFFINGTON

"The Irish Republic vs. The Free State."

RAND SCHOOL, 7 EAST 15TH ST.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.
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EDITORIALS

GOMPERS THIS TIME IN THE WRONG

A few days ago, Samuel Gompers made a strong attack in the public press upon the trustees of the American Fund for Public Service, Inc., generally known as the Garland Fund.

The history of this Fund is pretty well known to everybody. We shall restate it here in a few words:

A young man from Massachusetts, Charles Garland, some time ago inherited close to a million dollars. Instead of giving himself up to a life of ease and luxury which this legacy afforded, this young man, who did not believe in private property, decided that he had no right to the money. He turned this huge sum over to be administered by a group of men in whose judgment he had implicit confidence, feeling that they would spend the money for purposes consonant with his socialist ideals. This Fund has been functioning since last July and has, in the course of its existence, aided with considerable sums such enterprises as the New York Call, District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers of America, the Rand School of Social Science, the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense, several educational institutions, and many similar enterprises.

Some time ago the Workers' Education Bureau of America, with which the Educational Department of our International is also affiliated, applied to this Fund for \$10,000. In this application, the Bureau through its secretary stated to the trustees of the Fund its aims. The administrators of the Fund declined to grant the request of the Workers' Education Bureau on the following ground:

"The American Fund for Public Service, Inc., in its support of labor education, shall favor those organizations and institutions which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere."

"As it seems to us pretty clear that the work of the Workers' Education Bureau does not come within this definition, we came to the conclusion that we could not make the appropriation you request. We do not see our way clear to financing any enterprises except those definitely committed to a radical program of the character indicated in that resolution."

An impartial person will admit that this reply was sufficient to provoke the ire of President Gompers. Only think! The trustees declare themselves in favor of such labor education as "will fit the workers for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere." The trustees of the Fund; however, are not content with the work of the Bureau. They would support only such enterprises as commit themselves to a more radical program.

In other words, the trustees of the Fund pronounce the Workers' Education Bureau as reactionary, as an undertaking which does not purport to aid the workers to acquire knowledge "which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class." Had this been true, President Gompers, like it or not as he might, would have to admit that the trustees, from their point of view, had acted quite properly. A Fund founded for the purpose of aiding radical enterprises could not help reactionary undertakings. The question, however, arises—Is the Workers' Education Bureau an organization which is not entitled to ask for support from this Fund? The program of the Workers' Education Bureau adopted at its first annual conference and which has since become part of its constitution, gives the clearest answer to this question:

"To collect information relative to efforts at education on the part of organized labor; to cooperate and assist in every possible manner the educational work now carried on by the organized workers; and to stimulate the creation of additional enterprises in labor education throughout the United States."

"The Bureau stands squarely for education, not propaganda. It is not committed to any special doctrines or formulas. It is not the adjunct of any political party. It is not concerned with teaching people what to think; rather, how to think. It does not pretend to dictate to the labor movement; it purposes to serve the educational aspirations of workmen and women. It does believe in the necessity of presenting the facts."

Is not this a program to satisfy even the ultra-radical—a program which is not committed to any special doctrines or formulas—a program which is concerned with teaching workers how to think—a program which would not make parrots out of the workers but which would stimulate independent thought

among them on the basis of facts honestly sought and impartially presented? Yet, such a program does not appear radical enough for these trustees.

Wasn't Gompers justified in coming to the conclusion that under the interpretation of the term "radical" by the administrators of the Garland Fund only organizations advocating violent revolutions in America might apply for the Fund's support?

It would seem, therefore, that Gompers had a right to feel incensed, not because the Fund trustees refused to grant the application of the Workers' Education Bureau, but by their inane and unfounded motivation of this refusal. Gompers is certainly not a revolutionist who would destroy the existing order by violence. Nevertheless, Gompers is heart and soul for the "emancipation of the working class in every sphere." To deny this would be a grave injustice to the man who has devoted his entire life to this purpose.

To that extent we fully agree with Samuel Gompers. We, however, entirely disagree with his wholesale attack upon all the trustees of the Fund. We strongly demur at his labelling them "Reds" who go hand in hand with the Russian communists. Still less can we agree with him when he denounces them as "pacifists," as "dangerous persons" who were opposed to the war and who are consequently all of them covert revolutionists hiding under a mask of respectability.

This is in our opinion below the dignity of the President of the American Federation of Labor. At the time, indeed, that Samuel Gompers—who surely cannot fail to observe the bitter fruits of the war, realized that pacifism is by no means a thing that any thinking person would have reason to feel ashamed of. It is rather those who only a short time before the war days became enthusiastic militarists who have reason to feel ashamed of themselves at present. It is also worthwhile mentioning that it was only a few years ago that the entire labor movement in America was pacifist to such an extent that many labor unions would forbid their members to join the militia.

And why only the labor movement? How long is it since all America was truly pacifist, when the song, "I Didn't Raise My Boy To Be A Soldier," was so very popular and all over the land? We cannot fail to realize that, by emphasizing the "pacifism" of the trustees of the Fund, President Gompers has weakened materially his otherwise strong argument against their entirely incomprehensible action with regard to the Workers' Education Bureau.

It is also quite annoying that such an intelligent man as Gompers seems to seek in all and everything the spectre of the unfortunate Russian Revolution. Can it be that Gompers is actually afraid that such a revolution can break out in America? Admitting that a million dollars is quite a substantial sum—does Gompers really believe that, with such a sum or with some ten times as large, a revolution can be brought about here? We cannot believe that of a man endowed with such a sharp intellect as is Gompers, and that is why this playing up as a "saviour of our republican institutions" is, in our opinion, unbecoming for the president of the American Federation of Labor.

With all the deep respect we entertain for our old fighter in the cause of labor, President Gompers, and convinced as we are that the trustees of the fund have acted in a highly unjustifiable manner with regard to the request of the Workers' Education Bureau, we must, nevertheless, say that we regret that Gompers had attached the fund in the manner in which he did. The moral of the whole affair is that no one is infallible, and that Gompers can and may at times be in the wrong,—if not in the substance of his action, at least in its form.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR WOMEN UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The working women of the District of Columbia, after a fight lasting several years, won a minimum wage law. In fourteen other States minimum laws had been placed on the statute books after arduous campaigning over long periods. Several days ago, the question of the constitutionality of such laws came up before the Supreme Court of the United States and, by a majority of one, this Court had declared these laws invalid. The opinion of the court pronounces such legislation in violation of the sacred constitutional right of "freedom of contract."

It is unnecessary to enlarge here upon the hypocrisy underlying this decision which takes cover behind the doctrine of freedom of contract, as if such a thing as "freedom" of contracting between a woman whose means of existence is her labor and a dictatorial employer is at all possible. Even former President Taft, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, pointed this out in the minority opinion written by him.

What concerns us principally is the seeming futility of all labor legislation. Consider only how much time, labor and money every piece of legislation is costing American labor—legislation that is placed on the books only to be shortly afterwards declared invalid by the courts or the legislature. It is never carried into practice! Take for instance this same minimum wage law for women. It took twenty years of effort to make possible its enactment in some States and today the women workers of the country, thanks to the fiat of the Supreme Court, are practically in the same position legally in which they were two decades ago, just as helpless against the greed and avarice of their employers. Today the fight has to begin all over again. Isn't it a devastating process?

Or take the case of the child labor laws, which the Supreme Court invalidated only a short while ago—also, the name of some brand of "freedom,"—of freedom of commerce, if you please. How much labor, how much energy it required to put this law against the exploitation of children on the national statute books! And

The General Executive Board at Work

By S. YANOVSKY

III.

The report rendered by Vice-president Ninfo touched upon his activity in the dress and waist strike of New York, but dwelt largely on affairs in Local 48, of which he is the manager.

It appears that recently there has developed a union-breaking element in that local which disdains no means to achieve its nefarious object. The tactics employed by these fellows consist in besmirching and dragging down the names and the reputations of the leaders of the local, and particularly that of its manager, Vice-president Ninfo. Matters have reached such a pass that some of these disrupters have carried their vicious tales to the office of the district attorney, but of course they could not produce any worthwhile testimony that would impinch his character. Nevertheless, they are still carrying on their ugly campaign of slander and mud slinging and Brother Ninfo requested the General Executive Board to take a hand in this matter.

Vice-president Feinberg, in his report, spoke principally of conditions in the cloak industry in New York. According to him, this industry is at present undergoing a real crisis. The jobbers are a new and very powerful factor in the industry, and in order that the recently established jobbing department in the Cloak Joint Board may function efficiently and with proper results, it is absolutely necessary that these jobbers give out work not in a promiscuous manner but to a definitely fixed number of contractors. He also pointed out that while the number of non-union shops in the trade is insignificant, the situation is improved but little thereby, as there is undoubtedly a great surplus of workers in the cloak industry, particularly finishers and tailors. In general he stated that the seasons during the last year were moderately good, and the relations between the workers and the employers were not very strained.

Vice-president Feinberg also in-

formed the members of the Board that the New York Cloak Joint Board contemplates the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund. The Joint Board has acquired a building for its own use, one of the finest homes owned by organized labor in New York City. It is located at 25th Street and Lexington Avenue. The opening of this new house, planned for some time in the near future, will be made an event of significance not merely for the cloakmakers but for the entire labor movement of the city.

Vice-president Lefkowitz reported first on his work in connection with the organizing campaign and subsequently the strike of Local 62. He also gave the Board an account of his activity as manager of Local 3 and the causes which led to the present separation of the ladies' tailors and the sample makers into two distinct locals. Brother Lefkowitz stated that he had worked with all his energy and zeal to keep these two groups together, but, in spite of his best efforts, he did not succeed. He sees now that the plan to keep these two elements together was faulty at the beginning, and that it is in the interest of both to separate.

Vice-president Breslaw dwelt in his report on the so-called shop delegate leagues, a dangerous "state within a state" as he termed it. In his opinion an end must be brought, once and for all time, to these reform manipulations that tend only to weaken the union. Many of the vice-presidents agreed with him. We shall consider this question again in our next article.

Another important point raised by Brother Breslaw was the decision adopted last fall for a three per cent tax for the unemployed. On the surface of things that decision appeared to be quite a praiseworthy action by the G. E. B., but as a matter of fact it has had quite a demoralizing influence on the members. All told, there were at that time only a few hundred

unemployed in the trade—but such an alarm had been raised about it then that the impression was left that the entire industry was affected by idleness. Every worker in the shops, as a result, felt depressed and crestfallen—a state of mind highly welcomed by the employers. In the future, he stated, it would be advisable for the union not to allow itself to become misled by newspaper sensations, the object of which is clearly to sow chaos and dissension in our ranks. Vice-president Breslaw also told of the plan for an unemployment insurance fund in Local 35, which has not materialized yet because the general stand of the members is against it. He also proposed a thorough revision of the constitution of the International which, according to him, is full of various contradictions.

Vice-president Miss Cohn, in a report on the educational work, stated that this work is continually progressing, that recently men have begun to attend the various classes and courses, and that this work in general is becoming more and more popular. She spoke of the necessity of getting into closer touch with the locals on the problems of education, bringing home to them the urgency of education and the other living problems and concerns of our union.

Vice-president Dubinsky, manager of Local 10, told of the conditions in his organization, of the gains made by local 10 during the recent fighting in the dress trade and in the other strikes in New York. He also reported on the group insurance which is being introduced within the local, costing comparatively little and tending to make the bond between the member and the union even closer.

Vice-president Halperin told of his work in the children's dress strike, and his proposal to impose a tax of 10 per cent of their earnings upon those workers who were returning to work under union conditions in favor of the workers who still remained

outside; and of the opposition he had met on this score from people within the local. As a result of adopting this suggestion the local now has \$4,000 in its treasury; Local 50 now has a good standing membership of 3,000 and the trade consists of an element that is amenable to the message of organization and can be thoroughly unionized. He gave credit to the Cloak Joint Board who have generously assisted in the work, through Brothers Chancer, Oretsky, Balshchik and others. He expressed the opinion that there was no reason why locals 41 and 50 should not be united.

The organizing work in Baltimore is continuing as best as can be expected under local circumstances. From Bridgeport, Connecticut much more encouraging news can be reported. One morning recently Mr. Warner, the head of the big corset factory of that city, was considerably surprised to learn that his entire shop was organized. This fact obviously made him change his attitude towards the union and he is now negotiating with our representatives concerning the return of the 44-hour week in the shop as well as a substantial wage increase.

There are in Bridgeport also a good many dress and cloak shops, and Vice-president Halperin plans to develop quite an extensive organizing activity in and around that city.

Vice-president Wander, though no longer manager of Local 23, expressed his opinion that this local is ready to unite with Local 22 but that the obstacles come from the last-named local.

Vice-president Seidman reported on the situation in Toronto and Montreal. He is certain that very soon the organizations in these cities will come back to their former strength and will again become important branches of the International Union.

Vice-president Monosson told of the growth of the Boston locals due to the recent organizing activity and strikes in that city. Only a few months ago, when he took up the work in Local 49, this local had only

(Continued on Page 11)

now with one stroke of the pen the Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional!

Or take the Clayton Act, the pride and boast of the A. F. of L. After having obtained legislative sanction to the theory that labor is vests something more than a commodity, the price of which is determined by the law of supply and demand, the Supreme Court, in spite of this Clayton Act, declares that labor is in the end nothing but a commodity. President Gompers may rail and storm at the inhumanity of this decision, but as yet it is the Supreme Court that has the final say.

This constant repetition of the annulment of labor's efforts to improve its lot by legislation leads one, willy-nilly, to the question: Would not the labor movement accomplish a great deal more were all its energies, at present directed towards enactment of labor laws, applied exclusively toward the direct economic fight of the workers in shop and factory? Of course, had these laws been less subject to the whim and dictates of the courts, it would be silly to object to efforts for their enactment on the ground of some abstract principles. But it remains a fact that labor legislation in America is being enacted as if for a short while, as if we drug the minds of the workers for the time being. And as soon as these laws prove to be detrimental to the profits of the employers, they are quickly declared unconstitutional. Not infrequently these same laws are converted into strong weapons against the workers themselves. Isn't it high time for the labor movement to begin considering whether this incessant and costly campaigning for labor laws is worthwhile?

It seems to us that all who are able to look facts straight in the face cannot help admitting that this struggle for the enactment of labor legislation in America is wholly in vain. This fight for labor laws may have its justification in other countries where there is no such thing as a Supreme Court which can wipe out with one stroke all laws that interfere with the interests of capital.

But in the United States, where the power of capital is "über alles," where its will and interest are beyond the law, the labor movement, in order to make real progress and to avoid turning round and round in the same circle, must give up entirely this struggle for labor legislation—at least under present conditions. It should devote all its moral and material means to the great economic struggle which will ipso facto lead to the greater stability and permanency of whatever legislation for the protection of labor the legislative bodies might be compelled to pass.

Only under the pressure of such energetic economic pressure

can we foresee a possibility that even the United States Supreme Court would declare all laws protecting labor as constitutional and within the spirit of the times.

DISTURBING ELEMENTS IN OUR UNIONS

We have frequently spoken, in the columns of this journal, of the so-called "Lefts," the "revolutionists," as of an undesirable element within our union, an element which, in its unbridled fervor, would both kick the bucket and spill the milk in the act. We said that they had made it their incessant business to bring into our union extraneous matters aimed at friction and dissension and the splitting of unity in our ranks.

This element, however, is not the only one that threatens the natural development of our union. There is another element within it,—the extreme opposite of the first—which is guilty of similar, if not greater, offense. Just as the first element would destroy everything in its mania for "change," so would the other see everything perish rather than submit to its conservatism. Every reform, every new word, is anathema and poison to it. This element, partly because it has the distinction of having been among the first to join our union, regards itself as its hereditary aristocracy, as the "chosen people." It would seem that nothing could compensate them adequately for this accident.

They look askance at every new person who wants to do something for the union in a new way,—they regard him as an intruder, as a usurper. The result is very detrimental for the union, of course. It has a deadening, demoralizing effect and drives active young workers away from the organization.

These thoughts came to our mind after we had had a short talk with President Sigman about his visit to Boston last week. And here is our message to these "old" men in our unions: Great as your past services may have been, and much as we appreciate them, your present blind obstinacy not to see and feel that new times demand new men, new blood, and new activity is detrimental and injurious to our union.

Cast aside that empty vanity of yours based on former performances. In order that a union may exist and develop, it cannot live by the past alone. It must always keep on renewing and replenishing its ranks. If you can march along with the trend of the times, with the new tendencies, if you can understand them, sympathize with them, encourage and help them, well and good; if not, it is your duty to step aside and let the young and living forces do the necessary work.

Supreme Court and the Minimum Wage Laws

By J. B. C.

The Supreme Court of the United States again delivered a powerful blow at the legislative efforts on behalf of organized labor and several large women's organizations to establish minimum wage laws for women and children in this country.

Coming but a few weeks after the introduction in the Senate by Senator Borah of a bill to require Supreme Court decisions which invalidate legislation to be concurred in by seven of the nine justices, this decision handed down last week by the highest tribunal of the Nation in the District of Columbia Minimum Wage case has exceptional interest and significance. On its face, a decision of five against three, it is in effect like those of which Senator Borah complains—a five to four decision, since Justice Brandeis's failure to sit in this case was due to his ardent support of a similar measure before his elevation to the Supreme bench.

Two cases are involved—one brought up by a children's hospital in the District of Columbia whose wage payments to some of its women employees were below the rates fixed by the Minimum Wage Commission; the other by a woman elevator operator who alleged that she had lost her position because of the Commission's decision fixing a minimum wage rate. The majority opinion delivered by Justice Sutherland finds that even in the matter of fixing maximum hours, the powers of the legislature are sharply limited, and makes use of the old *Lochner* vs. New York case involving the ten-hour law for men and women workers in bakeries, in which the Supreme Court pronounced such enactments as "meddlesome interference" with the rights of the individual.

It is interesting that the Supreme Court makes use in arriving at its reactionary decision by pointing to the fact that women have made great strides in industry in recent years and therefore should not be entitled to any preferential legislation. Says the Court: "In view of the great—not to say revolutionary—changes which have taken place in the contractual, political, and civil status of women, culminating in the 19th amendment, it is not unreasonable to say that these differences have not come almost, if not quite, to the vanishing point. Later, the Court gives a judicial statement "of the commodity theory of labor, stating that it is just as unconstitutional to fix maximum prices for a certain quantity of food to be sold by the shop-keeper as it is to fix a minimum price to be paid by the employer for the purchase of labor."

The most striking thing in the decision is perhaps this frank statement: "Relation between earnings and morals is not capable of standardization. It cannot be shown that highly-paid women safeguard their morals more carefully than those who are poorly paid. Morality rests upon other considerations than wages."

The Court is however, very solicitous for the morals imposed by contractual obligations, and protests by saying that "certainly the employer, by paying a fair equivalent for the service rendered, though not sufficient to support the employee, has never caused nor contributed to her poverty."

The dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Taft, concurred in by Justices Sanford and Holmes, not to mention Justice Brandeis, does not conceal its impotence with the majority opinion. It refers to the dangers to women at the hands of the "harsh and greedy employer," and declares that it is not the function of this Court to hold congressional acts invalid, sim-

ply because they are passed to carry out economic views which the Court believes to be unwise or un sound.

The indications are that this momentous decision will be sharply assailed by liberal public opinion all over the country. Already the National Women's Trade Union League is contemplating the calling of a national convention of women's organizations interested in labor legislation to be held in Washington in the immediate future to find some way out of the situation created by this decision. The wholesale seduction of wages of more than a million and a half women in the fourteen cities that have minimum wage laws is feared. It is felt that something must be done to humanize the Courts or else the Constitution. Organized labor and the working women of the country have seen two labor laws invalidated, and now the minimum wage laws for women, which they have worked for many twenty years to put upon the statute books, have practically been repealed.

The other recent statute—the Shepard-Towner act,—is also awaiting a decision as to its constitutionality from this same Supreme Court, with the least encouragement now that this court with its new personnel will give any consideration to the social point of view, the human element in reviewing welfare legislation.

THE GET-TOGETHER

The annual get-together of the students of our Workers' University and Unity Centers was different from those held in previous years. First in importance is the fact that our members celebrated this occasion in the splendid building of their own International Union. Hundreds of our students came together and had a really wonderful time in merry-making of all kinds. There were refreshments, music and dancing which lasted far into the night.

A very enjoyable feature of this get-together was the fact that the delegates to the Convention of the W. E. B. were present as guests of our students. They were brought in busses from the Convention hall. They were impressed by the beauty of the building and auditorium, and by the splendid spirit of our students. The arrangements were excellent. Tables were set in the room adjoining the auditorium. They were covered with snow-white table cloths, and decorated with flowers. The guests were served with wholesome sandwiches, fruit, candy, and above all, with real Russian tea. The guests expressed their appreciation of the reception and welcome extended to them by the Committee which consisted of Rebecca Silver, Samuel Young, Rosa Margulies, Molly Friedman, A. Kuhn, Abraham Schwerd, Evelyn Grossman, Abraham Kreiter, Isidor Sassegus, William Lupo, Meyer Hopstein, Yelid Yelinsk, Anna Glikofsky, Lena Linder, William Lustig, Sarah Shapiro and Bessie Kimmelman.

As a special feature of the occasion, films explaining Einstein's Theory of Relativity were shown to our members and to the guests.

This get-together served to bring our members together, not merely as fellow-students meeting in the classrooms to obtain instruction from the same teacher, but as comrades whose lives are bound together not only by their intellectual interests but also by the splendid spirit of solidarity which makes them fight and struggle together on the one hand, and enjoy beauty and happiness together on the other.

EAST RIVER NATIONAL BANK

680 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

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THE KIND OF SERVICE WE GIVE OUR "OLD BUSINESS" IS THE ARGUMENT FOR THE STEADY INCREASE IN OUR "NEW BUSINESS"

The Down-Town Office of the Cloak Joint Board

SAMUEL PERLMUTTER, Manager

We received a report from Brother Samuel Perlmutter, the manager of the down-town office of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York, covering seventeen pages of typewritten matter. The report is dated April 17 and contains therefore matter of immediate interest.

The report of Brother Perlmutter covers a period beginning January 1, 1923, and ending March 15,—a period of eleven weeks. Small wonder that it is so voluminous; it concerns 1125 various complaints and "controls" attended to by that office during that time.

First in order come the discharge cases. The report contains 79 such cases and states how these cases were disposed of. It appears that 67 of them resulted in reinstatements, while only 17 could not be put back to work after effort had been made by the union to reinstate them.

So far so good. The percentage of reinstatements is certainly quite high; yet we wanted to get a look into the unsuccessful cases and learn why the workers were not able to regain their jobs. Here are a few instances.

A finisher was discharged from the shop of Banks and Titel. He could not be reinstated because, as it appears from the record, he was absent from the shop for fully four months. A similar case took place in the shop of the Preferred Garment Company, with another finisher.

Another reason for failure to reinstate was an instance in which the discharged workers themselves left the job and, only after they had concluded that they had made a mistake, did they file a complaint with the office of the union claiming that they were discharged. The employer, however, brought irrefutable testimony that the workers themselves left the shop. It was so clearly a case of leaving the job of their own accord that the union could not force the firm to reengage these workers.

A third reason in such cases is the failure on the part of some workers, who complained at the office of the

union that they had been discharged, to appear when the complaint was taken up by the representatives of the union and the manufacturers' association. Under such circumstances, the complaint is usually dropped. The union cannot press a charge of that sort when the complainant himself does not appear to state his case.

A considerable part of the report is taken up with collection of wages; that is, in cases where the employers fail to pay the wages of the workers and the union is called upon to collect them. There are 33 such cases in the report and the money collected amounts to over \$5,000, quite a considerable sum.

But this is not all. Immediately following the collection of wages, there is another item of back pay. These cases involve the collection of a fraction of wages due by a firm to a worker. Of these cases there are such in which the firm, for one reason or another, refuses to pay wages in full or where the workers themselves clandestinely agree with the employer to receive a smaller amount than what is due them. There were 38 cases of this type during that period and the amount collected is almost \$2300.

The report also contains a subhead "Collected Fines," which means money collected by the office from firms which were fined certain amounts for violating the rules of the union as prescribed in the agreement. The sum of these fines amounts to \$175.

The report contains also a long list of shop strikes under the management of the down-town office. There were, all told, about 30 such shop strikes; all the details of how the strikes were brought about and how they were carried on are given in this report.

In a word, the report is full of details of every activity of the down-town office for the past eleven weeks. Such reports are of great importance for the union and for the members, and Brother Perlmutter and his staff of business agents deserve credit for the splendid work they are doing.

"GET-TOGETHER" AND CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD YEAR OF HEALTH EDUCATION OF THE UNION HEALTH CENTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

in the

AUDITORIUM OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

3 West 16th St. - - - - New York City

Saturday Evening, April 28th, 8 o'Clock

ALL MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE UNION HEALTH CENTER ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND



DOMESTIC ITEMS

ALL HERRIN DEFENDANTS ACQUITTED.

All six of the defendants in the Herrin massacre case were acquitted of complicity in the slaying and participation in the Herrin riots. The verdict brought to an end the second trial of the case which was one of the hardest fought legal battles in the history of the country.

WAGE INCREASE FOR STEEL LABOR.

The United States Steel Corporation announced a wage increase of 11 per cent, effective April 16, for day laborers employed in the manufacturing plants of its subsidiary companies. More than 150,000 employees are affected, which will add \$500,000 to the weekly payroll.

OIL MONOPOLY STRENGTHENED.

The Supreme Court upheld the rights of oil companies to lease underground tanks and pumps to gasoline filling stations on condition that the proprietors of these stations should use only oil supplied by the companies furnishing the pumps. The decision is considered a blow for the Federal Trade Commission which held that the practices which it challenged constituted an unfair method of competition under the Federal Trade Act.

FLORIDA STATE PRISONERS LASHED AND BEATEN.

As a measure of "discipline," 93 negro prisoners were whipped with the lash in Florida prison camps during the last three months. During the same time 15 white prisoners have been beaten and most of them more than once. This number applies only to the prisoners in the state road camps and not to those in the county camps nor to those under lease in the camps operated by private concerns.

OIL STOCK FRAUDS REAP BIG HARVEST.

Oil stock promoters operating in the State of Texas during the last five years have filched more than \$100,000,000, from the public, Postmaster General New was advised by John H. Edwards, solicitor of the Post Office Department and Postal Inspector A. Sammons, who are in Fort Worth co-operating with the Department of Justice in the prosecution of mail fraud cases involving oil promoters.

HOW LARGE IS THE AVERAGE FAMILY?

Estimates by the Bureau of Municipal Research that the average man must earn \$1854, to support his family are challenged as misleading by the Industrial Relations Committee of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The Bureau estimate was based on the assumption that the average family is five, says the Committee, while the average really is 2.4.

TO SEEK CURB OF SUPREME COURT.

Plans have been laid by the LaFollette progressives for passage at the next Congress of some measure restricting the power of the Supreme Court to nullify laws by so-called "one man" decisions. An arrangement has been made with democratic leaders by which the progressives will be given the balance of power on the House Judiciary Committee for which this legislation will come.

OHIO STILL HAS UNEMPLOYED.

Despite the reported labor shortage, applicants for positions reported by state and city employment offices in Ohio during March exceeded the number of help wanted. The total registrations for positions in eleven cities were nearly 25,000 compared with 18,000 positions. Of the applicants over 14,500 were placed.

FARM LABORERS AVERAGE \$41.79 A MONTH.

Laborers on farms throughout the United States now receive an average wage of \$41.79 a month without board, according to an investigation just concluded by the Department of Agriculture. This average is based upon reports from all states received at regular intervals throughout 1922.

ATTENTION

RUSSIAN-POLISH CLOAKMAKERS

A very important meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will be held on Friday, April 20th, at 7:30 P. M. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th St.

At this meeting very important questions will be discussed.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

FOREIGN ITEMS

ENGLAND

AMALGAMATIONS IN ENGLISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Encouraging results followed the two conferences arranged by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress for the 35 unions in the engineering (metal) trades, and the 15 unions in the textile (other than cotton) trades. Two more conferences on the same lines are now being arranged by the General Council. The unions in the printing trades and those in the postal services are being invited to discuss the question of amalgamation. There are in the printing trades some 14 unions with an aggregate membership of over 173,000, which are already united in the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, and the General Council believes that a disposition to amalgamation exists amongst them.

SPAIN

A STEP TOWARDS BUILDING GUILDS IN SPAIN.

The housing shortage in Spain has compelled the government to consider possibilities of remedy. The Institute of Social Reform urged the necessity for the speedy summoning of a National Building Congress to which, besides the various authorities, the building operatives are also to be invited. One of the items on the agenda is the creation of building guilds, or cooperative building societies. The workers' delegates sent by the workers to the Congress will therefore have a splendid opportunity to champion the creation of Building Guilds.

SWITZERLAND

Between January and June, 1922, the Swiss government has expended 401,395,069 francs on behalf of the unemployed.

Since then the National Assembly has voted another 50,000,000 francs for the relief of unemployment. During the last few months the conservatives have redoubled their efforts to get the unemployment benefit reduced.

JAPAN

LABOR MARKET IN JAPAN IN 1922.

The number of unemployed in Japan in 1922 was 59,379 or 16,439 less than in 1921. Of the total number of unemployed, 17,566 belonged to the shipbuilding industry, of which 23 enterprises were closed down, and 8,665 to the spinning industry, of which 18 enterprises were closed down.

SWEDEN

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

In Sweden unemployment insurance is very defective as compared with its level in the other two Scandinavian countries. Not all the trade unions have Unemployment Funds, and no grants are made by State or municipality to the existing Funds. The number of unemployed is at the present time estimated at from 60 to 70,000—a considerable decrease in comparison with that of 1921 and 1922. The percentage of unemployment among trade union members was on December 31, 1920, 13.8 per cent; in December, 1921, 33.2 per cent; and in December, 1922, 17.1 per cent as compared with 7.5 per cent in December, 1913.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR BANK

(Continued from page 1)

Neckwear Makers' Union, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Company, the Workmen's Circle, and the Forward Association. After a thorough discussion, it was decided to fix the capital stock of the planned bank at \$250,000 and the surplus at the same figure. All the outside organizations represented expressed their readiness to join the International in the formation of such a co-operative bank and to invest in it considerable funds.

The conference decided that the

committee proceed at once to lease a corner building for the bank and fit it out in a most appropriate manner. Steps for chartering the bank were undertaken through the aid of Morris Hillquit, who was present throughout the conference.

With the participation of the above-mentioned organizations now assured, there seems little doubt that when the International Labor Bank opens for business some time early next fall, it will from its very beginning be one of the strongest financial institutions in the city.

LADIES' TAILORS, THEATRICAL COSTUME AND ALTERATION WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 38

NOTICE

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEMBERS MEETING
WILL BE HELD TUESDAY, APRIL 24TH
at 8 p. m. Sharp in

HARLEM SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CENTER
62 East 106th Street

Second and Last Nominations for Paid and Unpaid Officers will be held
Other Very Important Business will be taken up and You are Urged
to be Present

EXECUTIVE BOARD, LOCAL 38,
F. ROSENFARB, Sec'y, pro. tem.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

Convention of the Workers' Educational Bureau

Another milestone in the development of Labor Education in America was passed last Saturday and Sunday at the Third Annual Convention of the Workers' Educational Bureau of America. Our readers know by this time how important this event was. They will be gratified to learn how successful it was. More than a hundred delegates from all parts of the country, representing many new schools conducted by labor organizations, participated in the discussions and activities of the Convention. At the Annual Dinner on Saturday evening, some 400 people listened to the addresses of the speakers.

All this testified to the increasing interest displayed in the movement, and to its growth and development.

The Convention a number of very important matters were discussed. The committee reports on Curriculum, Methods and Textbooks, were not only interesting but valuable. Delegates stated the problems which confronted their respective groups and in many cases obtained considerable help from the discussions both in the committee rooms and on the floor of the Convention.

The business of the Convention culminated in the election of officers for the ensuing year. In the report of the Committee on Nominations great satisfaction was expressed with the service and efforts of the officers who conducted the affairs of the W. E. W. for the past year. They were renominated and reelected unani-

mously. Mr. James W. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, will continue as president of the Bureau, Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and executive secretary of our Educational Department, will continue as Vice-president, Matthew Wolf, Vice-president of the A. F. of L., will continue as chairman of the Executive Board, and Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary. A new position was created, that of treasurer, to which Mr. George W. Perkins, president of the Cigar Makers' Union, was elected. On the Executive Board were re-elected: John P. Frey, editor of the *Molders' Journal*; John Brophy, president of the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 2; Harry A. Russell, Frieda Miller and John Van Varenwick.

The composition of the Executive Board is representative of the different tendencies in the American trade-union movement.

The proceedings of the Convention were very encouraging. They pointed to a more successful year. If signs do not fail, many other trade unions will organize schools for workers in different parts of the country, spreading the message of education of the workers, for the workers and by the workers.

Impressions of the Convention will appear in next week's issue of the JUSTICE.

The Aim of Workers' Education

By J. M. MACTAVISH

(Secretary Workers' Education Trade Union Congress, and Workers' Education Association of England.)

What should be the aim of workers' education? The aim of workers' education should be to make the members of the working-class movement conscious of the dignity and worth of manual work, of the importance of the manual workers, their organizations and institutions in the general scheme of things, and create in the working-class movement a tradition and atmosphere which will induce its members to live up to the highest traditions of their own order.

Many good people may regard this as a narrow conception of what ought to be the aim of workers' education, but, because of what is happening in the world today, it is not narrow. As the result of a great expansion of the economic system, industrial countries are becoming as interdependent as many English counties are. This expansion constitutes an economic revolution, in some respects similar to that of the last century, but one which will have farther-reaching results.

Under its influence, what we call British, or American citizenship is being steadily moulded into what will become world citizenship. More and more the creative energy of the workers is being expended, not in serving themselves, or their country, but in serving the world, and more and more their rates of remuneration are being determined by what is happening all over the world.

By virtue of the fact that the work-

ers now work for the world, they become citizens of the world. It is not the area to which we pay taxes that determines our true citizenship, but the area which we serve. Very few are yet conscious of this, and one of the great tasks awaiting all educators is the training of the rising generation for world citizenship through the development of world consciousness.

Neither educators, capitalists, nor trade-unionists, are likely to quarrel with this definition of educational purpose, but, even if they do, economic pressure will, in due course, compel them to accept it. Under the influence of economic change, both wage-earners and capitalists are being driven to put their respective organizations on an international basis, and to begin to think internationally. The rent, interest, and profits of the capital is on the one hand, and the rates of remuneration of the workers on the other, are now being determined not by what happens in their respective countries, but by what happens in the industrial world,—a change for which we ought to be truly thankful, inasmuch as it is compelling us to think in much wider terms than heretofore.

The purpose of workers' education can therefore be defined as a training for world citizenship through the development of world-consciousness of a kind that will fit the workers to play a useful part in helping the workers' organizations and institutions to

(Continued on Page 11)

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 603

UNITY CENTERS

- MONDAY, APRIL 23rd, 8 p. m.: Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—320 East 20th Street—Room No. 305.
TUESDAY, APRIL 24th, 8 p. m.: Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street—Room No. 501.
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25th, 8 p. m.: East Side Unity Center—P. S. 62—4th Street near First Avenue—Room No. 404.
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25th: Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—320 East 20th Street.
6 p. m. Miss Loretta Ritter—Physical Training.
THURSDAY, APRIL 26th: Waistmakers' Unity Center—P. S. 40—320 East 19th Street.
6 p. m. Jacob A. Rubel—English.
YIDDISH
THURSDAY, APRIL 26th: Ladies' Branch—Local No. 9—Astoria Hall, 64 East 4th Street.
9 p. m. Dr. B. Z. Liber, of the New York Tuberculosis Association—The Worker and His Health.

A COURSE ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

By Dr. H. J. CARMAN

(Continued From April 6, 1923)

2. As a result of these contests a number of compromises and numerous devices for checking the power of the common people, as well as safeguarding them from tyrannical action, were written into the present Constitution. These included:
 - (a) The two-house legislature with the upper house, the Senate elected indirectly.
 - (b) Three-fifths of slaves to be counted for taxation and representation.
 - (c) Veto power of president.
3. The Constitution was ratified by state conventions but many individuals opposed it for various reasons.

LESSON 4—JEFFERSON REPUBLICANS IN POWER.

- I. The government of the United States was controlled by the Federalists until 1800. In that year the Anti-Federalists, or Jeffersonian Republicans as they were called, swept into office.
 1. The Federalists had given offense because of their attitude toward the French Revolution and their advocacy of the Alien and Sedition Laws limiting censure of their activities.
 2. Federalists accused of being monarchial and opposed to Democracy.
- II. Republican Principles.
 1. Jefferson and his followers were opposed to a strong national government. They placed their confidence in state government and, therefore, were known as believers in "States' Rights."
 2. Believed in simplicity and opposed pomp and ceremony.
 3. Firm believers in a "Republic of small farmers."
- III. Circumstances forced the Republicans to adopt many of the principles advocated by the Federalists, such as a loose interpretation of the Constitution, support of a United States Bank, and high protective tariff.
- IV. Republican Accomplishments.
 1. Acquisition of the vast Louisiana territory from Napoleon, 1803.
 2. Carried on the War of 1812 for Commercial Independence.
 - (a) English and French blockades.
 - (b) Impressionment of seamen.
 - (c) Loss of American commerce.
 - (d) Embargo and non-intercourse Acts.
 3. Chartered second United States Bank, 1816.
 4. Enacted protective tariff, 1816.
 5. Purchased Florida from Spain, 1819.
 6. Promulgated Monroe Doctrine announcing that America would regard any attempt on the part of European autocrats to extend their system to any part of the Western Hemisphere as dangerous "to our peace and safety" and "a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."
- V. The United States Supreme Court and the Decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall.
 1. John Marshall was a believer in strong national government and his decisions from 1801 to 1835 greatly strengthened the hand of the national government.

READING: Beard, History of the United States, Chapter IX.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

(Minutes of Meetings March 28 and April 4, 1923.)

Brother Berlin in the Chair.

OUTSIDE COMMITTEES

Sister Rose Pensatta appeared before the Board on behalf of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for women workers in industry. In the past two summers the school has been attended by 180 students from all over the country representing many trades. Sister Pensatta asked the Board to purchase tickets for an entertainment to be given for the benefit of this school. It was decided to purchase \$25 worth of tickets.

Brother Reif, acting sergeant-at-arms, reported that there is a committee claiming to represent Local No. 7, which wishes to appear before the Joint Board. As they had no credentials the chairman ruled that, as Local No. 3 is affiliated with the Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union and the International, the committee cannot come before our Joint Board unless they present credentials from their local.

The ruling of the chair was appealed from and Brother Reisel, as first vice-president, took the chair. A vote was taken with the result that the ruling of the chairman was sustained.

The Amalgamated Knitgoods Workers' Union in a communication stated:

"We wish to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of \$1,000 as a contribution from your organization to our strikers. Our strikers will know how to appreciate your generous assistance which came in the right time."

"Thanking you again, we remain,
"AMALGAMATED KNITGOODS
"WORKERS' UNION."

Upon motion this communication was placed on file.

A letter was received from the Keren Hayozed Labor Committee asking for a contribution towards aiding the tens of thousands of young men and women driven from their old homes by the misfortunes of war and persecution and who are now scattered in the various centers of Europe with no place to go to but Palestine. The doors of America are being closed to our emigrants while Palestine is developing into a center of Jewish immigration. Upon motion the communication was tabled.

The report of the Organization Committee was discussed by the delegates and officers. After a long discussion the report of the Organization Committee was upon motion approved, with the understanding that the Organization Committee should work in conjunction with duly accredited officers in order to secure the best possible results.

In regard to the calling of the shop chairman meetings, it was decided that a shop chairman meeting should be called in April as soon as possible.

Regarding the recommendation to organize the Italian non-union workers in our industry, it was pointed out that there is an equally large number of Jewish people who are unorganized and working in open shops. However, considering the language of the Italian workers, other means and ways should be adopted to make them understand the importance of their becoming members of our labor union. It was decided to adopt the recom-

mendation about the colored workers, with the understanding that the organization committee should make the necessary arrangements to have a mass meeting for the colored workers and also to organize an advisory board of some of their number.

IN RE LABOR BUREAU

The question of the labor bureau was taken up and Brothers Farber and Pertway explained that, since the labor bureau has been established, they have succeeded in placing an average of 100 persons a day. This, however, does not come up to our expectations of what a labor bureau should do, and it was the opinion of the committee that, in order that the labor bureau should function properly, steps should be taken to enforce the clause of our agreement that employers should secure workers from the Union only and the committee therefore advised that the Union should communicate with the association to that effect.

MANAGER'S REPORT

Brother Hochman reported that there are still about 30 shops, involving about 300 people, out on strike.

In regard to the non-union jobbers, Brother Hochman reported that a number of letters were sent out to non-union jobbers urging them to sign up with the Union. As a result of these letters, appointments were made with some of them and in connection with this Brother Hochman reported that the National Garment Company, Jobber, against whom the Union has been conducting a strike, has again become a member of the Jobbers' Association. In this way the strike was settled.

As to the shops which remained on strike after the general strike was settled, Brother Hochman reported that 80 settlements were made of which 49 signed independent agreements and 39 signed with the Contractors' Association. Out of this total 68 were non-union shops and the

remainder were union shops. Of this total 26 were settled, strikes having been called against them through the investigations made of the books of the Jobbers' Association and through visits and following up by the business agents.

Comrade H. Fruchter came before the Board on behalf of the Naturalization Aid League, stating that the Naturalization Aid League helps everyone regardless of party affiliation who wishes to be naturalized. Among other things he said that last year more than 1,700 members of the respective locals of the Joint Board were served by this organization but that the yearly contribution made by some of the locals towards this league amounts to about \$98.00. As the league has a deficit of about \$2,000, he urged that the Joint Board contribute substantially to that organization. The request of Comrade Fruchter was referred to the Finance Committee.

Sister Somofsky reported for the committee which was appointed at the last Joint Board meeting to work out a plan for the bringing together of all who cooperated in conducting the last general strike. Sister Somofsky recommended for the committee that an outing be arranged at which all who assisted at the last general strike should come together and spend a pleasant day. She stated also that Brother Antonini was approached about securing the Italian Union House for that occasion and that he as well as other active members of Local No. 69 were more than glad to extend their hospitality to that gathering.

JOINT BOARD'S NEW DELEGATES

It was decided that letters be sent to the various locals affiliated with the Joint Board, urging them to immediately make arrangements to have elections for Joint Board delegates. It was further decided that the installation of new Joint Board delegates and officers should take place at the first meeting in June, 1923.

The Aim of Workers' Education

(Continued from Page 10)

adapt themselves to world industry, solve international problems, and work for the liberation of the workers on an international basis.

This I venture to submit is a wider, more humanistic, more cultural, and more scientific declaration of educational purpose than that which any one of our universities is yet equipped to provide.

It is necessary to note, however, that I have insisted on the importance of workers' world-consciousness being of a certain kind. Clear classification is the beginning of all clear thinking. When science classifies the species of a given genus, it gives to each a distinctive name. I would like to give to the species of the genus of human consciousness the distinctive name of workers' consciousness, but, owing to misunderstandings which arise by using this term, I prefer not to give it a name provided we are perfectly clear that there are many kinds or fields of human consciousness.

There is the consciousness peculiar to young lovers, poets, dramatists, and novelists have chanted its praises for many centuries.

There is the consciousness of the same couple who, a few years later, are struggling to rear a family on a small wage, and are wondering how they can do it—an entirely different kind of consciousness, for the raptures of lovers, having no exchange value in the market place, bring no grief to the mill.

There was the consciousness of the old French aristocrats, who, though simply parasites on the social order, none the less went to the guillotine with a smile on their lips.

There is the consciousness of the new poor of our country which enables them to retain their dignity even while selling their ancestral acres, and the consciousness of the new rich, which expresses itself in a strange arrogance—due perhaps to their having made fortunes out of the war.

There is the kind of consciousness which inspired Captain Scott, miles a world of snow, and surrounded by his dead mates, to write one of the finest pieces of English literature extant, and which enabled his comrade, Captain Oates, to live up to the highest traditions of an English gentleman.

There is the consciousness which impels men to sacrifice home and family and to fight and die for their country, and the other kind of consciousness which impels other men to fold their arms and say "Yes, you may shoot me, none the less I refuse to fight."

There is the consciousness of the black-coated expert who sides with his directors as against the wage-earners whose creative energy he directs.

Then, there is the kind that causes other kind of consciousness which impels other trade-unionists to remain loyal to their order through fair weather and foul, concerned not so much with what they can get out of it as with what they can put into it.

Oh, yes, there are many kinds of consciousness, all of them species of

some trade unionists to pay their dues while trade is booming and wages are high, and then to blackleg their order when trade is depressed and the resources of their unions have been depleted in a struggle to protect them and their fellow-workers; and the great genus, human consciousness, and who knows but that human con-

sciousness is, after all, but a species of a greater consciousness than itself, viz: universal consciousness.

Hence, I venture to submit that workers' education must aim to develop that kind of consciousness which will impel workers to live up to the highest traditions of their own order, and equip them to serve it.

The G. E. B. at Work

(Continued from page 7)

about 4000 members. Today it has over 1,400 enrolled on its books and is in good standing. Now Local 49 is to have its own manager, Brother Israel Lewin, formerly manager of the Cutlers' Union of New York. Miss Sarah Hurwitz is business agent of the local, which bids well to become one of our strong organizations.

The same is true of the cloakmakers' locals of Boston. In Local 7, Manager Monoson succeeded during the last campaign in obtaining for its members a wage raise of ten per cent. The local gained about one hundred new members. He stated that it is very important to do some organizing work in Worcester, Massachusetts, where it is possible to bring the local women's wear industry under the control of the International, which is bound to have a beneficial effect upon the Boston shops as well.

Vice-president Reinberg of Philadelphia reported on the local situation. Last September, Local 15 had only 549 members and had to rely for its continued existence upon the financial support of the International. Today, this local has 2,500 members in good standing and the local is not only financially independent but is

able to begin to pay back its debt to the International.

Vice-president Schoelman, who is now the director of the Record Department of the International, gave a brief report on his present activities, and assured the Board that he would do all he possibly could to make his office one of the most useful and valuable for our Union.

Vice-president Heller, a member of the sub-committee to reorganize Local 3 stated in his report that, after having studied the facts, he is inclined to the opinion that this uniting of Local 80 and 3 into one organization has never taken place as a matter of fact. It was in point of fact a union of three groups which was never carried out. It was sufficient for one local to reach a decision or to come to a conclusion on any matter to make sure that the other local would come to a contrary decision—as a matter of duty or "principle." The balance of power remained with the third local which did not know with whom to side and in such cases was not sure what to do. Under such circumstances, the committee had no other alternative but to decide that this "amalgamation" must come to an end.

The Week in Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

GENERAL

Vice-president Schoonman, who recently arrived from Chicago, where he has held various offices in the local of our International, has assumed the supervision of the Record and Research Department of the International. The first matter to which he has directed his attention is that all the members of our International should receive the weekly bulletin, JUSTICE, "Gerechtigkeit," or "Gistritia."

The first local which Brother Schoonman has approached in this matter is our own Local No. 10, as it is a known fact that our local is always ready and willing to cooperate with any department of the International, be it the Record, Auditing, or any other.

In beginning work in this direction Brother Dubinsky at one time employed the file system in his office as a means of aiding the International. However, it seems that this did not work out satisfactorily, and the office has now undertaken to see that a correct address file of each individual member of our organization is established.

Towards this end each member, as he appears at the office of the union, either to pay dues or to take out a working card, will be asked for his correct address. In this way it is probable that at the end of a short time there will be a correct record of practically every one of our cutters, and they will all be receiving JUSTICE.

Since those whose addresses we have not in our file cannot read these lines, we would request those of our members who do receive the paper to tell those who do not, to come down to the office and register their latest addresses, so that their names may be properly listed and the paper may reach them.

The Union is interested to see that even those who are receiving the paper come to the office and give their correct address, so that their names may be checked off on the files.

In the past few reports that Manager Dubinsky has rendered to the cloak and suit as well as to the waist and dress cutters, he has laid much stress upon the working-card system of our office. The reason for this is the fact that, from the shop reports that we have in our office as well as from the reports that we receive from the Joint Boards, it has been found that there was quite a large percentage of shops that do not employ cutters. An investigation was immediately started, and business agents, as well as our own people, were sent out to investigate whether or not this was so.

These investigations disclosed the fact that there are a number of houses that do not employ cutters. As for the majority of these shops, however, there are cutters employed, but they are negligent about taking out working cards; some, for the reason that they have been working in their shop for more than one or two seasons; others, because they are under the impression that the striking cards which they procured in the past strikes are sufficient.

We wish to call the attention of all the cutters to the fact that the office will be very strict in enforcing the working card regulations, as the union is interested, for statistical as well as organization purposes, in knowing where and how long each cutter has been working during each year. And all those who are found guilty of violating the rule regarding working cards will be called to account by being summoned before the Executive Board, where, aside from spend-

ing a whole evening, proper discipline will be meted out to them.

We therefore advise all our members to make sure to take out a working card the first day they start work in a certain shop, irrespective of whether they are to work a day, or two, or more in this shop. We would even request our cutters who sometimes work for a firm for one day and are laid off in the evening, to come to the office in the evening, take out a working card, and immediately return it, stating that they have worked in those houses for one day only. This will afford the office a better opportunity to have a stronger grip on the shops, where the bosses are doing their own cutting.

It very often happens that a cutter takes out a working card for a certain house in which he intends to work, but when he appears at the shop he is informed that his services are not required or that a man has already been placed, but that he should leave his name and address so that, if this other man should not make good, he can be called at the first opportunity.

In a number of cases where complaints have been filed that the bosses are doing their own cutting, the manufacturer immediately produced before the business agent the name and address of a cutter who supposedly had been working there, whereas, in reality, he did not work there at all, but simply came to inquire for a job.

This is an evil that must be eradicated, and the best way to accomplish this is for the cutters to strictly adhere to the working card regulations. In this regard the Executive Board will be very strict with any cutters who will be summoned before the Executive Board on the charge of violating these rules.

WAIST AND DRESS

In last week's issue of JUSTICE we printed the quarterly report for this division from January 1, 1923, to March 31, 1923, inclusive. For lack of space the report of the work accomplished by Brothers Stoller and Hansel was omitted. We are therefore giving below the manager's report of the activities of the above brothers:

WAIST AND DRESS DIVISION

Shop Visits Made By Controller
Philip Hansel

No cutter employed	48
Found cutters employed	13
Cutters were sent up	26
Cutters were instructed to take out working cards	2
Firm paid fine	20
No work in shop	2
Boos' does cutting (these houses are being followed up)	4
Firm gets out work	4
Wrong address (cannot locate firm)	5
On strike	1

Total 123

Shop Visits Made By Controller
Max Stoller

No cutters employed	37
Found cutters employed	26
Cutters were instructed to take out working cards	7
Cutters were sent up	18
No work in shop	3
Firm was fined	2
Jobbers	1
Out of Association	1
Firm gets out work	3
Out of business	4

Total 101

TOTAL SHOPS VISITED 217

MISCELLANEOUS

The first regular meeting of this branch since the strikes in the chil-

dren's dress, wrapper and kimono, and underwear trades, took place last Monday night, at which 150 members were present. The opinion was expressed by all those familiar with this branch of the Cutters' Union, that a beginning was made towards the same sort of activity in this division as exists in the other two larger branches.

Surprise at the unexpected attendance was caused by the fact that no one expected such a gathering at a regular meeting, which was advertised in the ordinary manner. However, this attendance may be understood when it is said that Manager Dubinsky had mapped out a plan which would make for large meetings and hold the interest of the members.

The manager, in giving thought to this matter, concluded that, since the majority of the members who are new-comers are young men, ranging in age from 15 to 21 years and hardly know the elementary principles of trade-unionism, a novel method would have to be adopted to make for activity. This method, in brief, consists of securing lecturers who are versed in the principles of unionism and who would deliver short talks on its various phases.

The first lecture was delivered Monday night by Abraham Tuvin, business manager of the International's official organ, JUSTICE. Brother Tuvin took as his text part of Local 10's obligation, which is administered to all applicants who qualify for membership.

In his brief talk, the lecturer spoke of the meaning of trade unionism in its broader sense. He said that a worker, in going out on strike, did not do so solely for the purpose of bettering his own conditions, but did so for reasons of solidarity, which, in the last analysis, was the only means by which working conditions can be bettered. He pointed to the working conditions which exist in the cloak and suit, and dress and waist trades, which are directly attributable to the unification of the members of the various locals.

The short talk, which was rendered in very clear terms, was well received and warmly applauded.

Manager Dubinsky followed the speaker and dwelt at some length on the conditions prevailing in the trade and the determination on the part of the organization to continue this policy for some time or until the members in this division realize their obligations towards the organization. He pointed out to the members that the solid organization of Local No. 10, which was built by the Cloak and Dress cutters, is ready to give all of its moral and financial support towards the bettering of the conditions of the cutters in the miscellaneous trades, the wrapper and kimono, children's dress and underwear cutters.

He closed by saying that the members of this branch will be notified of the meetings by post-cards which will

be sent out each month, and that a new lecturer will be provided for every meeting.



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CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

Notice of Regular Meetings

GENERAL	Monday, April 30th
CLOAK AND SUIT	Monday, May 7th
WAIST AND DRESS	Monday, May 14th
MISCELLANEOUS	Monday, May 21st

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place